369 to learn some craft or trade. This constant
116 migration and change of social status, adjustment to a new way of life and to the new social, political, and cultural ideas moving from West and East to the Baltic coast, all have helped to create a perpetually changing life for the Estonian people. This has been especially true of the urban areas. More stability could be traced in rural communities until the Communist Occupation, although the land reform at the beginning of independence changed the pattern
• 186 of rural living considerably. However, despite these rapid changes,[1] the Estonian people had then and have always had a high sense of unity and loyalty to country. This could be illustrated by numerous examples from history, as well as by more recent events: the numerous large-scale revolts against suppression; the

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 2-3 -- 3 anal y s]

186 enthusiastic support and co-operation in the War of Liberation, 1918-20; voluntary united action in the summer of 1941 in driving the Soviets from Estonia; and the last heroic attempts of Estonian units in 1944 to prevent reoccupation of the country by the Red Army.

[181] 871 212 The dominant social motives of the average citizen are cultural, economic, and national. Estonians have always had a high appreciation for education and have made great sacrifices to educate their children in higher schools. Illiteracy in Estonia was almost nonexistent by the last decades of the nineteenth century. The enthusiastic support of the drive to establish the Alexander School, the founding of private secondary schools during the beginning of the present century, in which the teaching was done in Estonian, and at the same time the

1:Indiana U. S-4, 5(1954-5)1955 RG4 Estonia RG4

87/212 founding of the Estonian National Museum and the Estonian Literary Society are examples of the Estonians' hard struggle for education.

[369] Earlier, the better educated people concentrated in the cities, but in the second half of the independence period there were already many farmers with secondary and higher educations.

• 186 [517] Country life itself was made more attractive by the cultural activities conducted through the Educational League and other societies. Cultural and economic endeavors have always been interrelated with the constructive and positive nationalism characteristic of the Estonian people. Although in later years and during independence patriotism was not expressed in such glowing words as during the Awakening, nevertheless it was the stimulus of many idealistic enterprises and of all the cultural and economic progress made during these 5 years.-

175 [87] which organized a nation wide collection of money for the establishment of an Estonian gymnasium to be named after Czar Alexander I. Response to this was amazing--to the amount of 100,000 [814] gold rubles. The Society of Estonian Literary Men was founded in 1872 for the promotion of Estonian literature, language and history. [517] Several other societies also were founded, such as the Theater Society "Vanemuine" at Tartu, many farmers' societies and local music and theater groups.

175 186 The National Awakening[1] took a political turn when energetic Carl R. Jakobson arose to leadership and started his weekly Sakala. Jakobson, a daring and able politician, launched a vigorous campaign against the "number one enemy of the Estonian people": the Baltic German nobility. He demanded for the Estonians

[1] [For background, see -29- cat. 116, pp. 26-29--Analyst]

175 equal rights with the German nobility in the self-
186 government of the country, at the same time attempting to establish friendly relations with the Russian government in the hope of winning its support. But these efforts were doomed to failure for the Russians and the Germans had already initiated a suffocation campaign against the Baltic national movements.

175 The decade of the 1880 s was a period of deep
177 disillusionment for the Estonians after the hopeful time of the Awakening. The Slavophiles were quite influential, their aim being to Russianize the border provinces of the Russian Empire. This was not an easy task, since the National Awakening had made the people conscious of their heritage and proud of their culture. Illiteracy, for example, had been practically abolished in Estonia during this time

555 society was constantly in transition. Quite often the parents belonged to the working class but their educated children had climbed several steps up the social ladder.

565 The workers' class and the intellectuals at
665 loose ends in the cities usually made up the majority of left-wing groups. The majority of the middle class in the cities belonged to the liberal parties, and the old established farmers formed the right-wing. The new small-holders, created by the land reform, and the old farmers at first belonged to separate parties, but they later merged into one big Agrarian Party which became quite influential in the political life of Estonia (see Subparagraph 2c, POLITICAL DYNAMICS).[1]

565 In a national emergency, class distinctions
●186 have always been forgotten and the nation has

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 325--120-334--Analyst]

565
186

been united in the struggle for a common cause, as in the War of Liberation and in the last war when all classes responded to the mobilization and fought against Communist reoccupation of Estonia.

Although political parties were banned during the constitutional crisis (see Subparagraph 1b, HISTORICAL SETTING, pp. 24-27), they probably would have been reorganized later had there been time left. The old political parties still exist among Estonian refugees abroad. [646] A new trend which began during the last years of independence, but which did not have time to develop fully, was the representation of the people in the parliament by occupation. This type of representation was not decided upon by the Estonian people but was a decision made in the highest government circles. It would have

474 241 century among the farmers (in the form of co-operative dairies, farmers' societies, co-operative credit banks, etc.), and which later developed into a large-scale movement, the Estonian Co-operative League, which benefited both producer and consumer. Modern methods were introduced to the farmer, and expensive farm machinery was bought on a co-operative basis.

[186] Before Estonia had gained her independence, this co-operative movement had nationalistic overtones, for it emphasized to the people that by improving her economy Estonia could in turn improve her status as a nation. Jaan Tõnisson's daily Postimees enthusiastically plugged these farmers' co-operatives. Economic aspects of the co-operatives are discussed in Subparagraph 3e, DOMESTIC TRADE.[1]

000 Temperance societies were already well

[1] [See cat. 116, pp. 381-3 = 123 - Analyst]

883 Of the nation-wide youth organizations before the last war, the most popular were:

The Boy Scouts (Skaudid), founded in Estonia in 1913; in 1939 they had about 6,000 members.

Girl Scouts (Gaidid), founded in 1921. At the end of Estonian independence they had over 2,500 members.

883 186 Similar organizations of purely Estonian origin were the following: Noored Kotkad ('The Young Eagles'), founded in 1930 and having a membership in 1940 of about 17,000; and Kodutütred ('The Home Daughter'), founded in 1932 with a membership in 1940 of about 20,000. Both these organizations emphasized the education of youth in the national spirit.

Ülemaaline Eesti Noorsoo Ühendus ('Nation-wide Estonian Youth Organization'), founded in 1919, was in important organization to which

883 belonged young people outside of the schools as
186
well as young adults. It stood for support of an original national culture, national dances, libraries, theater and music. In 1940 it had 310 branches with 16,000 members.

177 Noorte Meeste Kristlik Ühing (YMCA) was
883 founded in 1920 by representatives of the American association. In 1939 it had over 7000 members.

Noorte Naiste Kristlik Ühing (YWCA) was founded in 1921 also by Americans. In 1936 it had 3955 adults and 1459 young members.

All these above-mentioned organizations were liquidated during the first Communist Occupation and only Communist Youth organizations are operative now in the Estonian SSR (see also Subparagraph 1j, EDUCATION, p. 13).[1]

[1] [correction; See cat. 116, -131- pp. 230-231- - Analyst]

527 on hilltop poles and lights. The young people gather to sing, dance, play games, and make merry, the older people to talk and enjoy the fun of the young. It is the climax of the summer, the time of the short light nights in the northern [777] countries. According to old fairy tales,[1] the fern is supposed to bloom this night and the person who can find it will have good luck. The im- • 186 527 portance of this holiday in Estonia was increased when June 23rd was made a patriotic holiday, Võidupüha, 'Victory Day.' On this day runners were sent from the capital by the Riigivanem, later the President, all through the country carrying live torches. By these "victory fires" the people listened to patriotic speeches, musical performances and other entertainment. Võidupüha, like all other national holidays (Independence Day, etc.), is now forbidden.

[1 For folktales see -143- cat IIC, pp 5-171--Analyst]

527 Instead of these, the people must march in
186 parades celebrating the anniversary of the October Revolution, May Day, and on other such commemorative occasions.

527 In the fall are celebrated mardipäev (St. Martin's Day, November 10) and kadripäev (St. Catherine's Day, November 24), not as religious holidays but as occasions for big carnival dances in the cities and for races and dances by costumed children in the country, much like Halloween in this country. The "marts" (Martins--Halloweeners) recite folk songs for which they have to be given treats. This donation, in turn, is supposed to bring luck in farming. During these holidays fried goose stuffed with apples is eaten.

515 The custom of Saturday night bathing is commonly observed in the Estonian countryside.

1:Indiana U. S-4, 5(1954-5)1955 RG4 Estonia RG4

538 volume, Emajõe ööbik ('The Nightingale of Ema River'), issued under her pen-name Lydia Koidula (from Estonian koit, 'the dawn'), was a great success. Many of her songs have been set to music. Her poetry is expressive of a romantic love of her fatherland and her songs went straight to the heart of her people. She became the symbol of the Estonian awakening.

545 An ecstatic even for Jannsen's family and for all Estonians was the First Singing Festival in 1869 at Tartu, which Jannsen organized. There were representatives here from Finland and Hungary. Many of Koidula's songs were sung and

[186]
[533] Jannsen's "Mu isamaa, mu õnn ja rõõm," ('My native land, my pride and joy') later became the Estonian national anthem, music for which was the score of the Finnish anthem by Pacius.

538 The other poets of Estonian Romanticism,

1 [See cat. 116, p. 174 -176- -- Analyst]

538 notably Veske and Kuhlbars, generally followed the example of Koidula. The chief prose writer of this age was J. Pärn, whose best story concerns the buying of land titles.

538 In the post-Awakening period (1880-90) patri-
186 otic poetry had exhausted its themes and was forced to resort to repetition. Historical fiction now became the most important type of literary expression of the period. The romanticized stories of ancient wars, uprisings and other heroic events were a very welcome escape in the depressing atmosphere of Russification. The most popular author of this period was Eduard Bornhöhe (1862-1923), whose first story Tasuja, dealing with the great uprising of the Estonians in April, 1343, had considerable impact on the patriotic sentiments of the time. Other authors of historical fiction, for example, were A. Saal, J. Järv and A. -177- Kitzberg.

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186 How much real support the Communists are able to claim from the Estonian population is, of course, uncertain, but it is certainly true that the majority of the Estonians long for liberation [563] from the Communists. The Russian minority in Estonia supports the present regime to a much greater extent than the Estonians themselves do, but how much it is difficult to say. Refugees report that the Estonians avoid as much as possible any contact with the Russians.

Communism is essentially alien to the Estonian. Great individualists, they have long been proud of their country and of the progress that it was making before the last war. For two centuries under czarist rule the Estonians had maintained their national culture and their non-Slav traditions, so that when the foundations of their Western culture were collapsed beneath

186 them the whole nation was shocked and bewildered. Many Soviet policies, such as the limitation of the right to education, are completely
[565] foreign to the Estonian customs. By depriving the children of the kulaks, "bourgeois nationalists," and the clergy of a higher education, the Soviets are at the same time depriving them of the freedom to choose a profession. Religious persecution, forceful collectivization and nationalization of land and property have also been a great blow to the freedom-loving Estonians.

186 The national symbols of the Estonians are the blue-black-white tricolor, the coat of arms and the national anthem -- all forbidden from the very beginning of the First Communist Occupation. The blue, black, white were adopted by the Eesti Üliõpilaste Selts as its colors in 1881,

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and on June 27, 1922 the Riigikogu proclaimed these colors the colors of the Estonian national flag. The blue stands for faith in the future of the Estonian people; black represents the Estonian soil, the black coat worn with many Estonian national costumes, and the hard past of the Estonian people; and white represents the hope for a better future.

The coat of arms of Estonia, by official proclamation of the Riigikogu in 1925, has three lions on a golden background, surrounded by oak leaves. There are a large and a small coat of arms.

The Estonian national anthem is J. V. Jannsen's "Mu isamaa, mu õnn ja rõõm," the melody of which is that of the Finnish national anthem "Maamme," composed by Pacius. It was sung for the first time at the first Singing Festival.[1]

[1] [See cat. 116, pp. 28, 176, (-310-) 195-196, 201--Analyst]

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at Tartu in 1869.

Mu isamaa, mu õnn ja rõõm,
kui kaunis oled sa!
Ei leia mina iial teal
see suure laia ilma peal,
mis mul nii armas oleks ka
kui sa, mu isamaa!

Sa oled mind ju sünnitand
ja üles kasvatand;
sind tänan mina alati

My native land, my pride and joy,
How wondrous fair thou art!
Where'er I go by land and sea,
I'll find no land so dear to me,
Through all my life I cherish thee,
My own dear native land!

It was thou who gavest birth to me
Who reared me for thine own.
To thee I'll ever thankful be

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ja jään sul truuks surmani!
Mull' kõige armsam oled sa,
mu kallis isamaa!

And vow till death my loyalty!
Thou art the land most loved by me,
My own dear native land!

Su üle Jumal valvaku,
mu armas isamaa!
Ta olgu sinu kaitseja
ja võtku rohkest' õnnista,
mis iial ette võtad sa,
mu kallis isamaa!

God hold his vigil over thee,
My dearest native land!
And hold thee in His faithful care,
Be near when days are dark or fair,
And bless thy efforts everywhere,
My own dear native land!

(Translation by E. Harris.)

1:Indiana U. S-4, 5(1954-5)1955 RG4 Estonia RG4

Annex "A," Subparagraph 2c,

Political Background

POLITICAL DYNAMICS

186 The Estonian people have been politically alert since the National Awakening, but greater maturity was reached in the period between the two Russian revolutions (1905-1917). The growing world tension on the eve of World War I was followed by the Estonians with great hopes; they were aware that czarist Russia could not survive a large-scale armed clash with Germany, and their hopes for greater freedom in the Baltic provinces were aroused. The level of education reached by the Estonians in the period prior to World War I, when illiteracy was almost abolished and many Estonians with higher educations took leading positions in public life, helped in the growth of political awareness.

186 That the Estonians felt a political responsibility was shown by their participation in the War of Liberation and by the rapid progress which their country made afterwards. The Estonian press, headed by distinguished leaders of the nation, did a great deal to educate the people politically.

665 Since political parties in czarist Russia were forbidden, the majority of the Estonian parties were founded after the Russian 1917 revolution and at the beginning of independence. It took them about a decade to consolidate. In time, three distinct groups of parties developed: right-wing, center and left-wing.

The right-wing Agrarian Party had only eight deputies in the Constituent Assembly, but it grew consistenly in the following years. In the first Riigikogu (1920-23) it had 21 seats, in the fourth (1929-32) 24 seats. In 1932 the Agrarian

Annex "A", Subparagraph 1a,

Sociological Background

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

181 The little group of Votes who have survived so far are primarily small farmers. Living since the beginning of this millenium in the Russian neighborhood and under Russian rule (except during one century of Swedish rule), they have taken over from the Russians their patterns of social life. But they have resisted complete Russification chiefly because the one-sided Russian influence has been counterbalanced by the Balto-Finnic influence of the Ingrians and Finns.

One of the most important influences on the Votes is, or has been at least until the Bolshevist regime, their religion. The Russian Orthodox Church with its lyrical mysticism has completely won them over. The Church has determined their world conception, their sympathies and antipathies and their attitude toward their
● 186 mother tongue. The Votes treat those of a
177 different religion like complete strangers. But
101 they almost identify themselves with the nationalities (Russians and Ingrians) who have the same religion as they have. Since the language of the religion is Russian, they do not seem to regret giving up Votic in favor of Russian.

The predominance of religion in the Votes' world conception has caused confusion in their notions of nationalities. Often the notions of "Greek Catholic" and "Russian" are considered identical. To the question "Are you a Greek

186 177 101 Catholic?" they answer "Yes, of course, Russian."

They do not consider themselves a special nationality. While some of them call themselves Russian, others again call themselves Ingrian. The Votic girls sing of themselves in Russian: "All the Ingrian girls are beautiful." When filling out questionaires, the Votes used to write as their nationality either "Ingrian" or "Russian." On the whole, it must be stated that they have a strong bent for assimilation with other nationalities. Tsvetkov, a student of the Votic nationality, illustrates this with the following example (p. 43): "A young Ingrian is brought as the wife into a Votic home where Votic is still spoken. And what happens? All the members of the family, even the old, begin to talk Ingrian, and so Ingrian in many households replaces Votic. It is characteristic for a Vote that when speaking with an Ingrian who knows Votic, he willingly starts talking Ingrian."

Due to the loss of their national consciousness, the Votes have lost almost all their national culture, and their specific national features, their national "complexion." Their folklore, customs and national dress have been taken over from their neighbors. The only thing that entitles us still to call them "Votes" is their language. But even this is developing fast toward complete Russification and Ingrianization.

177 the Votes will occur in the very near future.

It is possible that the denationalization of the Votes described so far can be partly ascribed to the part played by the Ingrians. The Ingrians, on the whole, appear in greater number in the westernmost Votic villages, so that their influence is especially to be sought there. The "Ingrianization" of Votes has gone farthest in Kukkosi village. Tsvetkov, a Vote himself, tells that the Votes often do not make a distinction between the Ingrians and themselves, but often call themselves "Ingrians." It is possible that the westernmost Votic village will become first Ingrian and only after that will undergo the second metamorphosis--the Russianization.

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[186]

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177 Kettunen has tried to explain the inclination of the Votes for denationalization. He summarizes it as follows: "The Votes were broken in their spirit upon learning that their neighbors, the Russians, Finns, and Estonians, have books written in their mother tongue and that they have their own schools, while only they, the Votes, have nothing. Such a language is not even worth while to be taught to the children. The Russian Church, on the other hand, has tried to nourish the view that the Votes, just like Orthodox Ingrians, actually belong to the Russians, for they have the same right creed as the Russians have." [1]

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1 See Zsirai: 435.

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1j,

Sociological Background

EDUCATION

871 The Votes, instead of having their national schools, have sent their children to the Russian schools. Tsvetkov writes (p. 42-43): ●186 177 "...the foundation of Russian schools among the Votes did not cause any feeling of enmity among them. The Votic people rather welcomed them, feeling in their isolated situation that it would be easier for them to get acquainted with the mysticism of the Greek Orthodox religion and to understand better their big neighbor....The school penetrated step by step among the people."

871 The Bolsheviks, after coming to power, established in the 1920's special schools for the nationalities. However, no schools for the Votes were founded, probably because of their small number.

Annex "A " Subparagraph 1k,

Sociological Background

RELIGION

771
795 The Votes are Greek Orthodox, just like the Russians and their close relatives, the Ingrians. Until the revolution of 1917, they stuck faithfully to their religious customs. But under the Bolshevist rule, only the older generation has continued the old religious practices, whereas the youth has become indifferent to the religion.

●[186] The devotion to Greek Orthodoxy has brought the Votes nearer to the Russians and to the Ingrians, at the same time alienating them from the Finns, who are Lutherans. One indication of this may be seen in the fact that, at least during the czarist rule, the Votes normally did not marry Finns, but they would intermarry with the Russians and the Ingrians.

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798 The Votes, although being ardent Orthodox, have, nevertheless not gotten completely rid of their ancient heathenism. We know very little of the Votes' ancient religion, and all we know refers to the worship of holy trees and springs. There were up to most recent times some trees or groves in Votic villages which were considered sacred. One such grove, surrounded by a high fence, was to be found in Baabina village. Although it was known by the name "Elijah's Birch," actually mainly aspens
796 grew there. Each year on Elijah's Day the village people used to go to the grove to celebrate there a festival. The people remember that in older times an ox was sacrificed

3:Indiana U. S-4, 5 1955 RG4 Estonia RG4
Vepses

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1a,

Sociological Background

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

181 The life of the Vepsians is based primarily on an agricultural tradition. During the czarist rule, almost all of them tilled a patch of land which belonged to the village community. They also carried on fishing to satisfy their own needs. Under the Bolshevists, they had to join the kolkhozes, and this changeover was completed by the end of the twenties.

The Vepsians have been the most backward of the Balto-Finnic nationalities. After the first World War they still lived in a "wooden age," making the majority of their articles from wood and bark. There were several dwelling houses without chimneys; many Vepsians had no clocks, no beds, no knives or forks, and lamps were a rarity.

• 186 After the Russian revolution of 1917, a slight nationalism manifested itself among the Vepsians. The soldiers who had been in Finland began to propagate the idea that all the small Finnic nations, the Vepsians included, should be incorporated into Finland. Some of them were even ready to sacrifice everything for this goal. But these ideas hardly penetrated very deeply into the Vepsians because of their general dullness and their political ignorance. When the Bolsheviks came to power, these national ideas were soon forgotten.

197 understanding. Some of the peculiarities of North Vepsian are as follows: the j is represented by d' (d'arv 'lake', d'ob 'he drinks', elsewhere jarv, job); the consonants l, n, r are soft before e (tul'en 'I come', son'en 'of the blood vessel', pur'en 'I bite'); the plural adessive ending is the Russian-like l, elsewhere soft l' (heil 'by them', kün'z'il 'on the nails'); the first and second person plural ending are -m and -t, respectively, elsewhere -mai or -mei, -tai or -tei, (tul'em 'we come', tulet 'you come').

There are very few differences between Middle and South Vepsian. Some of these are: the Middle Vepsian e is represented by o or ö in South Vepsian in certain cases (Middle Vepsian tuleb 'he comes', sülgeb 'he spites', South Vepsian tulob, sülgöb); the adessive ending in Middle Vepsian is -ou or -ū, in South Vepsian -ō (Middle Vepsian edou, edū 'before', touvū 'in the winter', in South Vepsian edō, touvō); the diphthongs in Middle Vepsian have been preserved, in South Vepsian they have developed into long vowels (Middle Vepsian pakaine 'frost', nälgäine 'hungry', linduine 'little bird', South Vepsian pakān'e, nälgān'e, lindūn'e).

177 In the 1930's an attempt was made to estab-
181 lish a Vepsian literary language on the basis of the Middle Vepsian dialects. A significant role in this attempt was played by F. A. Andrejev and M. M. Hämalainen who, since 1932, have published in Latin script a Vepsian grammar, a reader in two parts, and a

197 Vepsian-Russian dictionary. In addition to these,
186 text books in mathematics and biology were also published in Vepsian. All of these books were prepared for use in the Vepsian schools. This liberal policy of the Soviet authorities toward the literary languages of the minorities was, however, completely changed at the end of the thirties. The literary languages of the Vepsians and other minorities were then liquidated, for, according to the new policy, they were supposed to be sufficiently "served by the Russian literary language."

197 Russian influence on Vepsian. Vepsian shows stronger Russian influence than any other Balto-Finnic languages. This is especially apparent in the Vepsian sound system which is completely Russian. Tunkelo lists eighteen Vepsian sound features which owe their existence to Russian influence. Such are, for instance, the use of voiced stops (b, d, g), the affricates (c, c', č, č') and the consonant clusters (such as br, pl, sp) at the beginning of the word; the increase of the sibilants (z, z' š, ž) and spirants (f, h, x); the shortening of double consonants and long vowels; the increase of the softening of the consonants; the regressive assimilation which appears in the modification of the consonants due to the character of the following sounds: e. g., uk 'old man' with the final -k, if the next word begins with a voiceless consonant, but ug with -g, if the next word begins with a voiced consonant or vowel.

Vepsian has borrowed a large percentage of

4: Indiana U. S-4, 5 1955 RG4 Estonia RG4
Livonians

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1a,
Sociological Background

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

[162] 565 578 Although the number of Livonians is very small (in 1920 ca. 1500-2000, in 1949 ca. 1000), they are divided into several groups both on the basis of their economic situation and their attitude toward Livonian nationalism. Economically the Livonians form three district classes: a) the farmers, the merchants and the speculators; b) the small farmers; and c) the tenants. A certain antagonism exists between these classes, as evidenced in the fact that the so-called "bourgeois" have not been admitted into the co-operatives. These classes had, before the occupation by the Soviet Union in 1940, different political ideals also: the richer people were for the rightist conservative parties, while the poorer elements gave their support to the Social Democrats.

• 186 The Livonians are not unified either in their attitude toward Livonian nationalism. Two basic groups can be distinguished among them: the nationally conscious ones who strive for the preservation of Livonianism, and those who prefer to succumb to Latvianization. Between these two extremes are, of course, several transitional groupings with various degrees of interest in the problem.

The strong national awakening which took

186 place in Livonia under the instigation of Estonian and Finnish academic circles in the 1920's and which gave the Livonians their national flag and anthem and their national cultural society, had a strong unifying influence on the Livonians. Many of the people who up to that time had had little interest in the cause of Livonianism were seized with a patriotic fever and started teaching Livonian to their children and began again to speak their old language in their homes. The struggle for the fulfillment of their national program--the formation of their own county, establishment of their own schools and libraries--compelled them to forget the existing differences and to form a unified Livonian nation. The first national festivals, for instance the so-called flag festival in 1923, demonstrated a strong national enthusiam. But the ensuing oppression of their national movement on the part of the Latvian government soon calmed them down and forced them to take a more realistic attitude toward their national problem. Several less idealistically-spirited Livonians abandoned little by little their national ideals and returned again to the use of the Latvian language.

182 186 Livonianism is rather strong in villages such as Iira, Koshtrõg, and Kuolka, where the majority of the Livonians speak the mother 182 tongue. However, wherever the Livonians form 177 a minority, they show a considerable tendency 578 for assimilation with the Latvians. An example of this is Mustnumm, an almost completely

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1r,
Sociological Background

ATTITUDES AND REACTIONS OF THE PEOPLE

186 National symbols. The Livonians won their own flag and their national anthem at the beginning of the twenties during their national renaissance. The Livonian flag, its green, white, and blue symbolizing the colors of the forest, the beach sand and the sea, was consecrated during the flag festival in the fall of 1923. At this festival representatives of Estonian and Finnish students presented, in addition to their enthusiastic greetings, several musical compositions to accompany the Livonian words written by Miina Hermann (Härma) (Estonian) and Heikki Klemetti (Finnish). A Finnish guest in his report on the festivals stated that "I have nowhere seen such a strong feeling as was noticeable among the Livonians."

[538] The Livonian national anthem was written in 1924 by Karl Stalte, the sexton of Ire village and the only Livonian poet. The melody of the anthem is the same as that of the Finnish and Estonian anthem. It is, however, not a translation or imitation, but "independently. . . expresses the love of the Livonians for their shore washed by the sea, where grow the old fir trees hardened by storms, where dwells the fisherman fighting against the forces of nature, and where rings the dear holy sound of

186 Livonian" (Kettunen, Liivil. kansallistunto, p. 244.)

186 648 The aspirations of the Livonian leaders were at the beginning of the 1920's rather modest, namely, to join all the Livonian villages into one county, to have their own schools and books, and to preserve their native tongue. Some Latvian Livophiles at a meeting in Riga openly talked of cultural autonomy for the Livonians, but the aspirations of the Livonians themselves did not fly so far. The more tenacious among them insisted upon the creation of their own independent county. Up until this time, the Livonians had been connected administratively with two Latvian townships which reached tens of kilometers inland. The Livonians, although their villages were completely isolated from the inland areas, had nevertheless to fulfill several obligations, such as repairing bridges, hauling firewood for the township, the church and the schools, and the like. The Livonians had good reason to want their own county. But the Latvians, apparently fearing the rise of Livonian nationalism, tried in every way to prevent this. When the plebiscite, arranged at the seacoast in 1923, demonstrated an overwhelming majority to be in favor of the special Livonian county, the Latvian government finally had to yield. The next administration, however, cancelled this decision.

186 The Livonians' attempts to have their own schools had no better luck (see Subparagraph 1j). ☆ More happily was solved the question of

☆ [cf. P. 40, col. 116 - Analyst]

4: Indiana U. S-4, 5 1955 RG4 Estonia RG4 Livonians

• /86 the publication of Livonian books, thanks to the help of the Estonian and Finnish nations (see Subparagraph li).[1]

[1] [cf. pp 37-38, category IIC - Analyst]

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SOURCES

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1925. Liiviläisten kansallistunto. [The Livonians' National Feeling.] Kalevalaseuran vuosikirja, Vol. 5, pp. 242-244. Porvoo: Werner Söderström.

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1923. Liivi rahva olevik. [The Present Situation of Livonians.] Eesti Kirjandus, Vol. 17, p. 80. Tartu.

[Estonian Constitution as of November, 1947]

Chapter X. Arms, Flag, Capital

186 Art. 116. The arms of the Estonian SSR are a sickle and hammer against the rays of the rising sun surrounded by a wreath formed on the left side by pine branches and on the right by ears of rye. Both sides of the wreath are interwoven by a red band bearing the inscription "Workers of All Countries, Unite!" in the Estonian and Russian languages and below the initials "Eesti NSV". At the top of the arms is a five-pointed star.

Art. 117. The state flag of the Estonian SSR is of red cloth with a gold sickle and hammer and the gold letters "ENSV" in the upper corner near the staff. The ratio of width to length is 1:2.

Art. 118. The capital of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic is the City of Tallin.

Chapter XI. Procedure for Amending the Constitution

642 646 Art. 119. The Constitution of the Estonian SSR may be amended only by decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR adopted by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes of the Supreme Soviet.

000 Note: The Russian text from which this translation was made was published by Egis (Estonian State Publishing House) Politicheskaya Literatura, Tallin, 1947.

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union
Estonians R64

quite a number of prominent left-wing intellectuals to whom Moscow had surrendered the leading governmental posts in the country, in the absence of genuine die-hard communists. Thus the well-known Estonian historian, Hans Kruus, was at first Deputy Prime Minister of Soviet Estonia, and later Foreign Minister. The poet, Johannes Semper, was Soviet Estonia's first Minister of Education. The writer and poet, Johannes Barbarus (Vares), was President of Soviet Estonia until his death in 1947.

All these and other leading officials of the Estonian S.S.R. used to be people of considerable standing in 'bourgeois Estonia'. They were both pro-Russian and pro-Communist, but they were also imbued with Estonian national traditions. They had all been reared in the spirit of the literary movement 'Young Estonia' (Noor Eesti), which had been both progressive and cosmopolitan in character. Its principal slogan used to be: 'More culture, more European culture. Be Estonians, but be Europeans as well'.[34] Estonian literature had been much more influenced by Western writers and poets than by Russian ones. To be cut off from Western contacts was therefore an unbearable thought to intellectual communists such as Johannes Semper, who had translated into Estonian the works of Victor Hugo, Emile Zola and Verhaeren.

Another tradition dear to all Estonians is that connected with the National Song Festival the first of which was held in 1869 and was the first great manifestation of Estonian nationhood. Even many Estonian communists thought that the festival, which was celebrated both under the Czarist régime and in the independent Estonian Republic, ought to be preserved as an expression of the artistic genius of the Estonian people. The Twelfth Estonian Song Festival of 1947, the first to be held in Soviet Estonia, was organized by people whom one could with some exaggeration describe as national Estonian communists. Under their leadership the festival made ideological concessions to the Soviet régime, but it was at least Estonian in form. Russian songs and Russian choirs had been kept out of it.

The central authorities of the U.S.S.R. could not in the long run tolerate this attitude of the Estonian intellectual *élite*, its attempt to reconcile communism with friendliness towards Western European culture. As soon as the situation was ripe, the régime had to strike its blow against the recalcitrant Estonian communists and establish total ideological uniformity in Estonia. In the spring of 1950, on the eve of a new Song Festival, the régime considered that the moment was appropriate for a big shake up. The men who in June, 1940, had lent themselves so willingly as tools of the Soviet régime were removed from their posts. The same fate was meted out even to all the Moscow-trained Estonian communists who had not given proof of sufficient vigilance in the discovery of nationalist trends in the Estonian S.S.R.